

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9010

INFO AMEMBASSY BAMAKO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ACCRA

AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN

AMEMBASSY CONAKRY

AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT

AMEMBASSY OUAGADOUGOU

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BANJUL

AMEMBASSY BISSAU

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 DAKAR 2519

JOINT STATE/AID MESSAGE

BAMAKO AND NIAMEY FOR CODEL DIGGS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, EAID, OREP (DIGGS, CHARLES), SG

SUBJECT: CODEL DIGGS: SENEGALESE FOREIGN MINISTER

STRESSES SECURITY CONCERNS TO CHAIRMAN DIGGS

1. SUMMARY: IN MEETING WITH SENEGALESE FOREIGN MINISTER SECK, CHAIRMAN DIGGS COMMENTED ON CONCERN OVER SOVIET/CUBAN TREAT WHICH HAD BEEN VOICED TO HIM BY AFRICAN LEADERS DURING CURRENT TRIP. SECK TRACED SHANGED POLITICAL SITUATION ON AFRICAN CONTINTNET TO 1976 ADDIS ABABA OAU SUMMIT TO ANGOLA, WHICH HAD ENEDED WITH COUNTRIES EVENLY DIVIDED. HE SUGGESTED THAT SUBSEQUENT DECISION BY AMERICAN CONGRESS HAD
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PRECIPITATED CONFUSION AND BANDWAGON EFFECT WHICH LED UNDECIDED AFRICANS TO THROW SUPPORT TO WINNING SIDE. DISTINCTION BETWEEN "MODERATES" AND "PROGRESSIVES" IN AFICA WAS FALSE SINCE LATTER SIMPLY CONCENTRATED ON SLLEGED FOREIGN ENEMIES TO DEVERT ATTENTION FROMDOMESTIC PROBLEMS. SECK RIDICULED IDEA THAT POOR SOCIETIES SHOULD RESORT TO VIOLENCE AS ROUTE TOPROGRESS; HE CRITICIZED

ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS ON THIS SCORE. ONLY WEST AFRICA WAS SPARED FROM POLITICAL VIOLENCE ELSEWHERE ON CONTINENT, HE NOTED, AND SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES COULD ARISE THERE. BELIEVING THAT "BEFORE DEVELOPING, IT IS NECESSARY TO LIVE," SENEGAL WAS OBLIGED TO SEEK FOREIGN MILITARY AID TO ENABLE ITS PEOPLE TO CHOOSE THEIR FORM OF GOVERNMENT WITHOUT INTERFERENCE. SENEGAL WAS NOT OPPOSED TO COMMUNISM PER SE, SECK SAID, BUT RATHER TO TOTALITARIANISM OF EITHER RIGHT OR LEFT. END SUMMARY.

2. CODEL DIGGS AND AMBASSADOR AGGREY MET APRIL 9 WITH SENEGALESE MINISTER OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS ASSANE SECK. IMPORTANCE PLACED ON MEETING BY SENEGALESE WAS EVIDENT IN PRESENCE OF VIRTUALLY ALL FOREIGN SERVICE OFFICERS HOLDING SENIOR MINISTRY POSITIONS WHO WERE IN TOWN DURING VISIT:

AMBASSADOR YOUSSEPH SYLLA, CABINET DIRECTOR
AMBASSADOR HAMETH DIOP, TECHNICAL COUNSELLOR
AMADOU FAYE, MINISTRY'S CHIEF OF PROTOCOL
ABDEL DAKER NDIAYE, TECHNICAL COUNSELLOR
DOUDOU DIOP, DIRECTOR OF LEGAL AND CONSULAR AFFAIRS
IBRAHIMA KABA, ACTING DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL AFFAIRS

3. CHAIRMAN DIGGS OPENED CONVERSATION BY EXPLAINING THAT HE WAS MAKING AN ASSESSMENT MISSION IN CONTEXT OF PROPOSED AMERICAN COMMITMENT OF \$1.5 BILLION OVER NEXT TEN YEARS FOR SAHEL REHABILITATION. HE ALSO HAD HAD OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS SOUTHERN AFRICA AND OTHER AFRICAN ISSUES WITH
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PRESIDENT SENGHOR ON EVE OF FRANCO-AFRICAN SUMMIT IN DAKAR. HE SAID HIS PRINCIPAL OBSERVATION WAS PRE-OCCUPATION WITH SOVIET INFLUENCE ON PART OF AFRICAN LEADERS WITH WHOM HE HAD MET. CHAIRMAN DIGGS SAID THAT GHANESE HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THERE WAS FEELING IN US THAT GHANA WAS LEANING TOWARD THE LEFT, AND APPREHENSION THAT THIS FEELING COULD HAVE INFLUENCE ON GHANA'S RELATIONS WITH US. DIGGS SAID HIS SUBSEQUENT STOPS HAD BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY MANY REFERENCES TO THREAT POSED BY SOVIETS AND CUBANS. HE POSED QUESTION WHETHER THIS CONCERN GREW OUT OF RECENT PODGORNY AND CASTRO VISITS OR WHETHER THERE WAS MORE INSTITUTIONAL FEELING IN WEST AFRICA THAT THERE WAS SOVIET THREAT TO PEACE IN THIS AREA.

4. REPLYING TO DIGGS, SECK RECALLED MEETING WITH HIM IN DAKAR IN EARLY 1976 DURING CONFERENCE ON NAMIBIA AND HUMAN RIGHTS AND ASSURED CONGRESSMAN HE SHOULD "FEEL AT EASE AND KNOW THAT THIS IS A FRIENDLY COUNTRY." SECK

EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF US ENGAGEMENT TO MAKE SAHEL VIABLE. HE PLEDGED THAT SENEGAL WOULD DO ALL IN ITS CAPACITY TO MERIT US CONFIDENCE, TO MAKE SAHEL ZONE VIABLE AND TO USE FOREIGN AID JUDICIOUSLY. HE SAID IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS MAKE FIRM COMMITMENT TO SAHEL DEVELOPMENT AND THAT POPULATION MUST BE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT THERE WAS SOMETHING IN IT FOR THEM. MAKING SAHEL VIABLE AGAIN WOULD BE MONUMENTAL UNDERTAKING FOR HUMANITY. SECK ACKNOWLEDGED THAT, WITH THIS TASK AHEAD AND ONLY SMALL RESOURCES AVAILABLE, QUESTION WAS POSED WHY SOME OF THESE LIMITED FUNDS HAD TO BE USED FOR DEFENSE. HE EXPLAINED: "BEFORE DEVELOPING, IT IS NECESSARY TO LIVE."

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5. SECK RECALLED THAT AT 1976 MEETING HE AND CONGRESSMAN HAD HAD DIFFERING POINTS OF VIEW ON ANGOLAN SITUATION. SECK SAID HE HAD EXPRESSED SENEGALESE FEAR THAT FOREIGN INTERVENTION THERE WOULD CREATE DIFFICULT SITUATION IN AFRICA. HE SAID IDEOLOGICAL ASPECT MADE PROBLEM PARTICULARLY GREAT. SENEGAL WAS NOT AGAINST COMMUNISM PER SE. IT RESPECTED EACH COUNTRY'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE ITS OWN POLITICAL SYSTEM. IN SENEGAL, HE POINTED OUT, THERE

WAS LEGAL MARXIST-LENINIST PARTY AND GOVERNMENT ITSELF
WAS COMMITTED TO SOCIALISM (THOUGH, HE SAID, THIS WAS
NOT MARXIST-LENINIST OR TOTALITARIAN SOCIALISM, BUT
RATHER DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM). WHAT SENEGAL FEARED,
SECK SAID WAS TOTALITARIANISM: "THAT WHICH FORCES
PEOPLE TO ACCEPT A POLITICAL SYSTEM THEY WOULD NOT CHOOSE.
WE ARE AGAINST TOTALITARIANISM OF BOTH THE RIGHT AND
LEFT," SECK SAID.

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6. FOREIGN MINISTER RECALLED THAT AT ADDIS ABABA OAU
SUMMIT IN JANUARY 1976, THERE HAD BEEN SMALL GROUP (ONLY
4-5) OF EXTREME LEFTISTS AND EQUALLY SMALL NUMBER DETERMINED
NOT TO ACCEPT IMPOSED SOLUTION IN ANGOLA. MASS OF
AFRICAN LEADERS HAD BEEN IN MIDDLE, WITH RESULT AHT OAU
WAS EVENLY DIVIDED AT END, AWAITING ACTION BY AMERICAN
CONGRESS. AFTER CONGRESSIONAL DECISION ON ANGOLA, THERE
WAS GENERAL CONFUSION AND BANDWAGON EFFECT AS UNDECIDED
COUNTRIES THREW THEIR SUPPORT BEHIND WINNING SIDE. SECK
STRESSED THAT, IN RETRACTING THIS PROCESS, HE DID NOT MEAN
TO IMPLY THAT HE DID NOT RESPECT DECISION MADE BY US
CONGRESS IN WISDOM AND FULL SOVEREIGNTY IN RECOGNITION
OF INTERESTS OF AMERICAN PEOPLE.

7. SECK SAID THAT CHARACTER OF SUBSEQUENT OAU DISCUSSIONS
HAD CHANGED. PEOPLE TOOK DECISIONS NOW BASED ON WHETHER
THEY HAD SUPPORT, INSTEAD OF ON BASIS OF WHERE NATIONAL
INTERESTS LAY. THERE WAS SMALL GROUP OF DETERMINED MARXIST-
LENINISTS WHILE OTHERS WAITED TO SEE WHERE CHIPS WOULD
FALL. NOTING IMPORTANCE GIVEN TO MILITARY AND DEFENSE
CONSIDERATIONS IN PRESIDENT SENGHOR'S INDEPENDENCE
DAY ADDRESS (DAKAR 2398), SECK SAID SENEGAL WAS OBLIGED TO
SEEK MILITARY AID FROM FOREIGN POWERS TO ENABLE ITS PEOPLE
TO CHOOSE WITHOUT INTERFERENCE.

8. SECK DECRIED IDEA HELD BY MARXIST-LENINISTS AND YOUTH
THAT OUT OF VIOLENCE COULD COME PROGRESS. HE CRITICIZED
STATEMENT BY ZIMBABWE NATIONALISTS THAT THEIR ONLY
RESORT WAS ARMED STRUGGLE. SECK ARGUED THAT IT WAS
ILLOGICAL THAT UNDERDEVELOPED SOCIETIES WITH NO ARMS
SHOULD CHOOSE MILITARY ROUTE AS PREFERRED APPROACH TO
RESOLVING PROBLEMS. NOTING POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND
INSTABILITY IN NORTH, EAST, CENTRAL, AND SOUTHERN AFRICA,
SECK OBSERVED THAT ONLY WEST AFRICA APPEARED INSULATED
AND CALM, SUGGESTING POSSIBILITY THAT SIMILAR DIFFICULTIES

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COULD DEVELOP IN WEST AFRICA AS WELL.

9. SECK SAID HE ALSO WISHED TO PUT CHAIRMAN ON GUARD AGAINST SIMPLISTIC DIVISION OF AFRICA INTO PROGRESSIVES AND MODERATES. SO-CALLED PROGRESSIVES, HE SAID, SIMPLY TRIED TO DEVERT ATTENTION OF PEOPLE FROM DOMESTIC PROBLEMS THROUGH FULMINATIONS AGAINST EXTERNAL ENEMIES.

10. REPRESENTATIVE DIGGS RESPONDED THAT SAME KIND OF DISTINCTIONS WERE MADE DURING US CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT: US BLACKS HAD BEEN LABELLED AS MILITANT OR MODERATE. IN REALITY, THEY SHOULD HAVE BEEN DIFFERENTIATED AS "MILITANT, MORE MILITANT AND MOST MILITANT." DIGGS ASSURED THE FOREIGN MINISTER THAT THEIR VIEWS WERE IN ACCORD AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH SECK AGAIN. MEETING CONCLUDED WITH EXCHANGE OF REMINISCENCES BETWEEN CHAIRMAN DIGGS AND FOREIGN MINISTER SECK OVER THEIR FIRST MEETING NEW YORK IN 1958. AGGREY

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